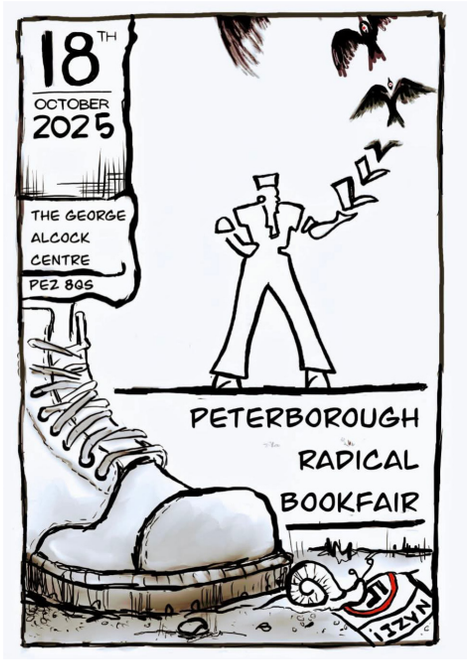
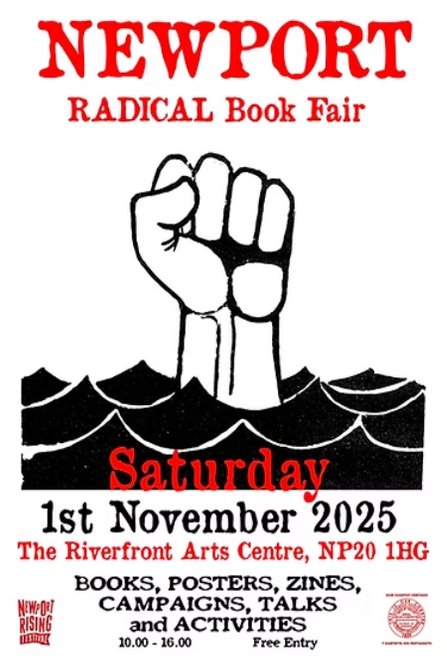
# SPINDRIFT

BOOKFAIR SEASON 2025



# SPINDRIFT 2025

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# A Short Editorial.

It's Spindrift's fifth outing.  What started out as a little extra thing for the returning Bookfair in London, is now an establishing puncutation point in our yearly cycle. A moment to pause and reflect. It's vital we never stop restating our assumptions, examining the context of our situation, and re-affirming our positions, especially now as the tides of reactionary conservatism and fascism are brewing up a storm.

So this time out we wanted people to talk about anarchism in their locality, what it means, what it looks like, how they personally pursue it. Here we have six texts from around the world, in which fellow anarchists talk a look at their local organising, their space, place, means and motive. Dissolving the umbra of persumption and status qou, for better and worse.

We hope you enjoy reading them, maybe take onboard some of the lessons, and maybe even consider asking yourself the same questions. The more we do this the more adroit we become and the more hopeful the future we build together.

In solidarity, love, and rage.

***Peter Ó Máille***

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# Pulse Check

*Peter O'Maille*

Every year around July I start asking fellow anarchists around the world what they think the is the state or health of Anarchism, globally and locally. Partially this is a prompt for submissions to Spindrift, however deeper than that, it's become my own annual tradition to gauge what's going on globally and locally. A time in which I restate my assumptions, consider them in context of the now, and start drawing together the framework for the rest of the year and ask, what can I personally be doing that fulfils my anarchism, personally, communally, and politically.

I have something of a tendency to get lost in the philosophical and big picture stuff, I've been working through the year on a major text considering the post revolutionary interregnum and developing society so  my thoughts have been quite distant from the here and now, this flight of wishful fantasy was brought crashing down by the revolutionary moments in Indonesia and Nepal, where our anarchist comrades, as part of a popular uprising against corruption and authoritarianism have been hitting the streets, fighting the fight, and taking on horrific brutality in the name liberty and solidarity.

Like many I watch these scenes with a mixture of concern for the people, the fire of solidarity, and the envy of a distant comrade in a land which seems to have replace it's agency with complacency, other than the diverse milieu of Palestine Action, who have respond to live streamed genocide with measured direct action against the profiteers and local mechanisms of that brutality we seem to have lost the spirit and left a void which has been filled with xenophobic grifters, keen to import and platform the most vile hate to tell working class people their enemy arrives via raft and has dark skin.

Let's be honest, your average Joe on the street has no clue what Anarchism is and even less inclination to understand the differences between these TLAs and crews. They are trapped in despair as the largest "left-wing" party is openly supplicant to the far-right popularist hate which has come flooding back, poverty is drowning us and the act of protest is being illegalised as our very identity is being enclosed and codified. All I care about is Anarchism becoming more of a conscious element in the minds of our class and people seeking to empower themselves rather than rely on the false promises of would be despots or the sycophantic platitudes of popularist socialism.

I had written a text about the rising zeal amongst younger anarchists, something I've seen swell and swell over the past few years, and my concern that those of us who ostensibly work to build the framework to facilitate revolutionary action are consistently failing the task, suggesting means and methods in which we can improve on our utility, and then I read this:

*"Predictable to hear of the imminent dissolution of the Anarchist Federation"*

It was posted on social media by the Anarchist Communist Group (ACG), they tagged the Anarchist Federation (AF), it had one "like", and a few people had screen grabbed it and sent it me. Some were earnest and asked whether it was true, others were looking for goss, the Anarchist knitting circle for you. Across the spectrum of the black flag, we often forget that what connects us is so much more powerful than what divides us, it's just what passionate people do I guess.

The post is petty and I worry deeply that one of the supposedly major vessels of anarchism would so openly gloat and be jubilant at the demise of another. Personal and political divisions aside, I look at this and I talk to comrades around the world and I'm tired. We need to do better. I say this all the time, and I mean it. I mean it for them and I mean it for me and I mean it for the AF. A vital part of doing better is being open and clear.

People shouldn't have to ask their connect what is happening in the AF, it should be addressed openly, consistantly and honestly.

*So here we go, let's discuss the state of the Anarchist Federation. Now as someone who is often struck with prodigious stream of conscience, an awkward vernacular and a habit of straying of the point, I do not wish my peers in the AF to be associated with this piece. We're not a monoculture and I am just another member -I am sure if you asked any other member you'd get a different view- so it's in that capacity, as a member in which I speak. I speak only for me.*

I can't speak to the entire world of anarchism in Britain at this moment, but I can speak as to the Anarchist Federation 2025. If you were hoping to see us shut up shop, I am sorry to tell you that isn't the case.

After 2017 we were hit with a big loss to our shared knowledge base, our resources, our capacity. The drama of it all this and issues such as the uprising in Hong Kong, the war in Ukraine, and the genocide in Palestine would continue to cut a grove between us and other anarchists. The organisation we had inherited was bloated with bureaucracy, paper membership, anxiety over purpose, and a lack of drive. This has been a huge weight and drain for the small group of resource sparse and extremly busy anarchos when all we really want to do is get back to in the kitchen and do the work.

Just at this difficult moment we then subsequently became embroiled indirectly with the badjacketing of a visiting Anarchist via London AF, who had became a semi-autonomous network we only had spotty communications with. Internally, drive and inclination waned.

This was a critical point.

Understand, all of the active membership are lifelong Anarchist revolutionaries who are involved in any of a number of organisations while having lives and trying to survive capitalism, none of us have any vanity over maintaining the provenance, keeping the organisation alive just to be there, churning out boring newsletters and historical texts no one reads, pretending to be some massive organisation when it's five people in a forum occasionally spotted with hopeful newbies before they drop out. So what to do?

Our first response was to fix the admin and comms. We had a bunch of bland but difficult problems that jammed up the works, some examples of problems and solutions....

- Our forums were quickly becoming a thing of the past, our older membership had become used to the format, but our younger membership was using encrypted chat apps and the such. So we tried a few different solutions which have included such fantastic names as "Riot" and "Revolt", but these would had utility for a few, for a while Discord was serviceable but an experiment with Signal saw a shift and bit by bit we stopped using Discord and the Signal would wax and wane with activity as and when things happened.

- The subscriptions to Organise came over from the folk who had left and it was a couple dozen jotted addresses. We took the political hit and decided to start using Patreon. A "trusted" platform with people outside of the choir it soon proved itself useful. We're not keen on it but that's the realities of surviving capitalism in the digital age. We absolutely fucking hate these platforms but the alternatives are not quite there. We're exploring options but as we grow, capricious shifts become more of an risk.

- The AF we had inherited was populated by members who were not members, folk who had signed up because they want to support us but never came to anything or did out. We'd be running about saying "ah yeah we're the biggest Anarchist club in town" when in reality we're a milieu of an active thirty or forty. We decided we'd rather be a small group with intent and provide alternatives for those who just want to support us. So we went through the membership, do you want to stay in and are you "active", ie do you want notifying about things, yeah or nay, and that's how we got to the current body and why some folks get emails and asked about things and other people don't. Anyone can change their status at any time and this way we avoid tiered membership while allowing people to find a state of play that suits them.

Little problems like these take time to fix. Yet another plate for people dealing with poverty, family illness, babies, retirement, travelling, dramas, university, fighting landlords, organising national events, protests, covert operations, fundraisers, new books, enjoying the odd show and just fucking living.

Still, coming into 2025, we had a cool and clear attitude, tho we lacked the keen drive and energy. We are living in increasingly interesting times and as a body of anarchists we need to be stepping up or we should stand aside entirely, close doors and focus on other projects. We're anarchists, our organisations are inherently temporary and to fit purpose. If they don't have a purpose, we close doors. I repeat myself here, because we repeated ourselves then. So we had a meeting, attended by a few with the details relayed to the rest. The result was this.

If we were to close the AF, we'd simply be in a casual network of comrades, we all want to work together. Bristol AF especially, even if they took the sign down, they are still going to be doing all the same things. What would change? Well the AF has got the bureaucracy of a much larger organisation, the membership model via the specific A&Ps was locking out engagement, we needed to reaffirm out internal solidarity and community, and we needed a new focus on our purpose. Purpose, that's the ultimate matter at hand. What is our purpose and was the organisation, by any name, able to fulfil it.

The Anarchist Federation isn't a street level squad going about doing the things in the way the Anti-Fascists crews or Hunt Sabs are, We're not like SolFed, Acorn, or IWW holding a certain remit and focus (while occasional branching out of course) taking that political theory into physical practice. We're not an archive, we're not a study group, we're not a distro... and so on. Members are involved in all these things or more and sure, occasionally as the AF we go and do these things, fund these things and support these things but it's not the AF's *purpose*, we can say it's "acting as the memory of the working class" and such all day but what does that actually mean in reality, the membership are involved in various archiving and propaganda efforts but the AF itself? No.

What we are, we concluded, is a network of politically aligned comrades, who have a a shared wealth of knowledge, resources, and connections. Where we excel, and what we feel is our function, is the dissemination of this beautiful idea of anarchism, helping others empower themselves, and establishing new fronts for the struggle and bastions of solidarity.

We want to help build frameworks which our members and our class can build up. Whatever tendency, however you verbalise it, whatever your focus... if you want to build a better world rooted in solidarity, autonomy, freedom and kick this capitalism hell-scape and authoritarian government to the curb, we're with you and we want to help make your crew make it happen. We don't want an AF stamp on it, we just want people to build and organise.

Alongside this a very meaningful change for me, we turn away from the social media and digital comms and try to pivot more towards in person meetings. Internally and externally. This is a bit more difficult than written, especially when we're talking about public or semi-public stuff, but it's where we want to shift.

So that was our conclusion. How we go about that we're working out. It's very tempting just to say "death to the AF, long live the AF" and just wake up with a new framework and plan, but this easy quick solution is liable to come with a whole host of administrative and organisational issues, so we grit our teeth, and carry on the slow and steady work. This stuff takes time. We've too few resources, too much life to live, and we're all spinning a dozen other plates organising things, hitting the streets, writing articles, and pitching in. This will take time and what the resulting blossom will look like I'm not really sure. It all means different things to different members, some are more engaged than others, but we carry on and -frankly- all of this could change at any time.

The "Anarchist Federation" name isn't precious, if we closed the door, we'd simply open ten more. While we are about we're helping others open them regardless.

So the question is this. Are you opening a door? Are you organising? If not, why not? Is that something you need help with? Whether you want to join the AF or not, contact us and let's work together. Working together is a vital part of Anarchism and it's something we all need to do more of, even if you're in an mob fixated on antagonism with the AF, make it better, build it into something more. We don't need to be friends to express solidarity in this class war we are so bitterly struggling to defend ourselves in.

We can all grow and I truly hope that in time, the AF, ACG, ACN, the local organisation such as NEAG, Bournemouth Anarchists, Hackney Anarchists, SCAO, RAG and all the rest, Anarchist communists, informal insurrectionary groups and the vast assorted milieus in between. We need to come together and grow, not delight in the failings of others. We're better than this and we need to do better. Find connections where you can and build up these beautiful, powerful moments of community and resistance.

Enough of the dramas and sectarianism.
Forward Anarchism to the revolution now!

## Have you heard of Anarchism in Korea?!

*Students for Anarchism (StuFA)*

Maybe you've read Hwang Dongyun's book "Anarchism in Korea," or George Katsiaficas' essay Peter Kropotkin and People's Uprisings: From the Paris Commune to the Kwangju Uprising. However, as abundant as such examples of past attempts are, those who called themselves anarchists often did not act like one, and those who did, did not claim to be anarchists. Though one could debate us about the specifics of these claims, us present-day Korean anarchists agree that, unfortunately, there isn't much of a continued "Korean anarchist tradition." (As of writing this text, we are unaware of any anarchist presence in the northern part of the peninsula, and as such we will deal exclusively with the panorama in the south.) Of course, the last century being one of conflict and oppression —of which the former half was spent under the yoke of imperialism and the latter half under a series of capitalist dictatorships—, the Korean people are still very well versed in the practices of popular grassroots resistance. Despite great swathes of our youth turning towards conservatism and apathy, and the government gladly suppressing attempts of social progress, the syndicalist movement under the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (민주노총, KCTU) still stands strong, together with the numerous human rights movements that are actively working on a diversity of issues. But still among these organisations and activists, none hold or vocalise specifically anarchist views. Like in most parts of the world, the bulk of left-wing progressive struggles is focused on the demand for the implementation of various pro-labour and anti-discrimination acts. Cries for autonomy and self-determination are truly rare.

Dire as it might look, we —the social anarchists in Korea— have been tirelessly organising against all odds. Especially with the start of this decade and still until quite recently, the group "Malangchism" has led

much of university student organising. The group has held semester-long study seminars on topics such as anarchism 101, history of anarcho-syndicalism, and queer and feminist intersectionality. Much of their efforts have been about spreading the word of anarchism into the activist sphere. They have been also actively participating in protests and labour strikes, always voicing to fellow activists that anarchism is an alternative to the oh-so-popular parliamentarism. Specifically, this year marks the third consecutive year that the group has solidarised with the laid-off workers at Seojong Hotel —found at Myeongdong, in the heart of Seoul. The workers here have been fighting for the return to their workplace for 4 years, and against the suppression of the democratic union by the hotel's administration for 10 years.

Malangchism and other groups have also been translating and publishing classical anarchist texts, including works of Russian anarchist Voline's trilogy on anarchism in the Russian Revolution "the Unknown Revolution," and a collection of didactic dialogues by Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta. For this purpose, the online "Anarchist Library Project" has been a useful nucleation site for our efforts. The Korean version of the project went online in mid-2021 and is still standing to this day.

At this moment, seminars and translation works make up the bulk of the theoretical work. Even though up to recently, each group has published their own pamphlets and online articles, these have consisted of mostly activity reports. Creative works beyond an occasional message of solidarity with another group here or there have been limited. The same goes to their engagement in popular social network sites like KakaoTalk (a Korean social network service), Facebook and Instagram. On the level of individual activists, a general reticence against formulating new and concrete theoretical analyses specific to our current Korean situation is dominant. This is mainly because, still having much to learn, we feel inadequate to postulate new ideas. Considering how many activists have barely over five years of experience as "anarchists," —recall the absence of a continued anarchist tradition— seems like only time will fix it. We could also argue that this is representative of a general lack of strategic imagination, and this we shall elaborate below.

Further, even though most of anarchist gathering and organising has been limited to within the city of Seoul, this hasn't stopped us from solidarising with worker struggles across (South) Korea. Again, Malangchism has been particularly active on this front. From the Gangreung Yoocheon Primary School teachers' struggle against the Education Office, to all the way down south with the subcontracted shipyard workers of Hanwha Ocean (formerly DSME) in Geoje island, there have been constant efforts not to limit our anarchist participation to labour movements within the capital. This attempt to stay in touch with provincial issues is especially more important in the Korean context. Close to half of the population inhabits Seoul and its environs, draining the rest of the provinces and its rural areas of its population and resources, creating a power imbalance of scales rarely seen in other countries.

The activists have also not forgotten the internationalist aspect to the struggle for liberation. In 2022, they shared solidarising videos and messages with Mexican university students squatting their campus who were protesting against the silencing and general mistreatment of survivors of sexual violence among their colleagues by their college administration. Also in the next year, with the initiative of an Chilean anarchist filmmaker, a film was made documenting the struggles of a sales worker laid-off for whistleblowing at a major car-making firm's internal malpractices.

The contemporary groups' syndicalist focus is clear, and maybe because of it, there has been a painful lack of introspection about the intersectionality of the struggles against oppression in all its glorious forms. This means that much of our activists' internalised misogyny, queerphobia, transphobia and ableism has gone unchecked for an embarrassingly long time. Though our constructive efforts considering the small number of activists and few resources may be commendable, these efforts have failed to reach a broader non-cismale audience. Indeed, non-cismale activists among us are rare, and the few that newly join have a hard time finding a welcoming place here. This is very much reminiscent of the situation described by Czech writer Marta Kolářová in their essay Sexuality issues in the Czech anarchist movement. With discussions regarding issues of sex, gender and disability being so direly sparse and superficial, much work is desperately needed. In that sense, we have been somewhat repeating the error of our predecessors: claiming to be anarchists without fully engaging with the broad intersectional liberatory approach it requires.

This is the current state of "anarchism in Korea." Indeed, so much hard work lies ahead of us. From consistently engaging with people outside the Seoul Metropolitan Area, to more ruthlessly tackling our internalised shackles

and phobias, these are just some of the challenges we as contemporary anarchists in Korea face. And staggeringly, we mustn't forget the fact that we also live in a highly polarised society pushed around by the interests of different brands of the same conservatism. We expect that to some readers, this feeling of unpreparedness regarding such an impossibly large challenge will surely be familiar. And to you, dear comrade, we send our best regards. We are nowhere close to giving up, and we hope you share our spirit. We, the anarchists in Korea, still have to broaden the horizons of our imagination, search for more approaches towards an anarchist liberation. We will learn, improve, and carry on. We will work so that eventually the entire peninsula will join in our cries of "down to all authority" and "liberty for all," and so it may be also wherever you are reading this from.

## Developments in the Libertarian Left in the Philippines

*Simoun Magsalin*

The tradition of anarchism in the Philippines reemerged in the 1990s and 2000s, partially driven by punk subculture, the great schism in the Philippine left, and the general post-communist condition imposed by the collapse of the Soviet Union. This historical crisis in the Philippine left resulted in new libertarian traditions. Being largely a reaction to highly formalized and hierarchical modes of organization in the Communist Party of the Philippines and the legal expressions of National Democracy, many of the first wave of anarchists gravitated towards post-leftism and informalism. The critique of the left and the party-form was an important part of the expression of anarchism given the wide dissatisfaction and demobilization in the Philippine left. Critiquing the program of national industrialization of the Communist Party, many also turned to deep ecological politics and eventually anticiv. This ecological turn also mirrors parallel developments by Popular Democracy who developed Bookchin-esque assembly democracy paired with green politics. As internet technologies facilitated exchange of ideas from the global anarchist milieu to those in the Philippines, cyber-anarchist articulations flourished alongside many of the other ideas.

By the turn of the 2020s marked by the COVID-19 pandemic, a number new anarchists began learning about anarchist theory from the internet. Some learned it from academic texts, others from The Anarchist Library, and others from dissemination from the first wave and in participating in the old milieu. Emerging from this new wave was the collective and later distro known as Bandilang Itim (or black flag) which became a forum and space for the generation of new ideas and theories. Our Struggles Interlinked referred to the way that different sites of struggles needed to be connected to one another,

emerging in the context of global uprisings in Hong Kong and the George Floyd protests and then connecting these to struggles in the Philippines. Self-directed militancy referred to a localized understanding of self-activity. The text "Wrath Over Pride" critiqued the old milieu and many of leftists of neglecting gender and queer struggles, namely abuse, sexual harassment, misogyny, and transmisogyny. Despite the critiques of the post-left in other countries of the failure to address these struggles in formalist anarchist organizations (e.g. especifismo, platformism), these very same dynamics were replicated in informal spaces in the Philippines. Other ideas such as organizational dualism, joyful militancy (from the book with the same name!), abolitionism, harm reduction, and care work were explored and given emphasis over other prevailing currents in the local anarchist scene. Joyful militancy in particular was an important lodestar that spoke to a lot of emerging dissatisfaction with the Philippine left, crystallized in the critique of rigid radicalism. Abolitionist ideas and its related concepts of harm reduction, decriminalization, and care work were often used as starting points for engagement with the wider non-anarchist public. Indeed, it became important to refer to the new wave as a milieu of "anarchists and abolitionists" rather than merely as anarchists. After all, the point is not to convert everyone to be anarchists, but for people to act for themselves, especially in joyful, caring, and non-domineering manners. New groups began to emerge that eventually superseded Bandilang Itim such as ABOLISYON!, The Dinner Party, and PAGLAYA.

Parallel to these developments was a deepening of the crisis of the left in the 2022 presidential and general elections. Authoritarian nostalgia combined with Cambridge Analytics, fake news, the usual guns, goons, and gold made the 2022 elections dangerous ground. National Democracy once again hitched their wagon to another bourgeois liberal-democratic politician, Leni Robredo, in the hope of preventing the election of the son of the dictator (and eventual winner) Bongbong Marcos. Previously, National Democracy had hitched their wagon to known mass murderer Rodrigo Duterte, their opportunism having won no gains for their movement as Duterte quickly and expectedly betrayed them. Leni Robredo, however, made no promises to National Democracy, even refusing to endorse them, yet National Democracy hitched their wagon to Robredo.

In the midst of all this opportunism, left groups that had split from National Democracy in the 90s ran a futile, yet ambitious, campaign for president around Laban ng Masa (fight of the people) with the Leody–Walden tandem, pairing veteran unionist Leody de Guzman with celebrated left sociologist Walden Bello. One can, of course, quote Lenin on the use of electoral politics as propaganda campaigns, and this was indeed precisely the point. Anarchists and abolitionists conducted a dual campaign, promoting abolitionist, libertarian, prefigurative ideas to the socialists while the socialists conducted their own campaign for socialism in the election.

The 2022 elections was a huge defeat for the left across all sectors. Not only had Duterte loyalists, Marocs loyalists, and kleptocrats won huge gains, the electoral left with the National Democrats, the social democrats, and the socialists lost many of their seats and were on the retreat. This deepened crisis in the Philippine left was actually generative and useful. While many groups took their poetry from the past, variably from the 70s or 90s, many were emboldened by the new ideas discussed in the Laban ng Masa campaign and attempted to find new poetry. Old ideas were reassessed if no longer useful, other traditions were assessed for viability. The group of volunteers for Laban ng Masa (including anarchists) developed a pre-party formation and later formed Partido Sosyalista. Inside and outside Partido Sosyalista, other ideas were also being assessed: social ecology, carceral abolition, prefigurative politics, libertarian socialism, degrowth, municipalism, autonomism, communization and Trotskyism. The Rebolusyonaryong Partido ng Manggagawa–Philippines (revolutionary party of workers–Philippines) was rumored to have removed Marxism-Leninism from its program and replaced it with "revolutionary Marxism." The Rebolusyonaryong Partido ng Manggagawa–Mindanao (revolutionary party of workers–Mindanao) adopted degrowth in the last congress of the Fourth International. Left communist ideas, including autonomism and communization theory, were reassessed. Trotskyists formed Talibang Anakpawis abroad and Friends of the Spartacists locally. Meanwhile, National Democracy would suffer yet another electoral loss at the 2025 elections (though managing to save some seats), though social democracy under Akbayan found new resurgence. A new left group with Kamanggagawa (co-worker) tried TikTok left populism with great effect, winning one seat in their first election in 2025. While many of these latter groupings are not "libertarian"—indeed, many still oriented towards either a "proletarian"

state or electoralism—these formations still reflect a new wave of de-Stalinization and thus still a welcome development.

This regeneration of the Philippine left may not be anarchist, but anarchists are vibrantly participating and spreading libertarian ideas. The Local Autonomous Network persists with many infoshops and even an eco-anarchist community in Davao. The zine culture remains strong, enhanced as well by the Southeast Asian Anarchist Library which provides a repository of zines. Anarchists are now active in the anti-corruption campaign in the country, being active in communities, or doing much-needed silent work on interlinking struggles or mutual aid.

Continuing challenges in the anarchist milieu remain. Abuse, misogyny, and transmisogyny persist, and indeed are exacerbated by the interventions of the openly transpobic Deep Green Resistance. The failure as well of especifismo and syndicalism has not yet been wholly assessed, but this does not necessarily represent a problem given differing contextual and material reality in the country versus other milieus like that in Indonesia. A lack of formal organizations is hardly disorganization, after all. And even in informal groupings, anarchists in the Philippines have shown themselves capable to intervene and interlink.

Those that choose to engage in pluralist, ecumenical, and multi-tendency groupings like Partido Sosyalista face threats, however. Previously, the home-grown libertarian socialist tradition of Popular Democracy failed to cohere and then chose to participate in the social democratic Akbayan. While initially doing good work in Akbayan, particularly in participatory democracy, Popular Democracy eventually dissolved into social democracy and lost their distinctiveness. As such, there is a risk of a new dissolutionism into Partido Sosyalista.

While the current insurrectionary and revolutionary wave is reemerging across Asia, most notably in Indonesia and Nepal, the mood and morale in the Philippines seems to be ebb and retreat. But ebbs in class struggle can quickly turn into flows and floods. As a milieu of anarchism grows alongside new expressions of libertarian socialism, various ecologies, and heterodox Marxisms, we shall see if formations remain in their respective camps, or interlink struggles together and overcome particular differences.

## Anarchism is what we call the things we do

*Hana B*

When asked to write this article, I accepted enthusiastically and without hesitation. Admittedly, I love to write and leapt at the chance to work on something other than an instagram caption. (I was of course **more** eager for an opportunity to reflect on our work). Reflection is something we do everyday as a small team of volunteers. As we get feedback from community members, make adjustments to our workflow, and build more efficient systems of organizing, we are constantly asking ourselves "what works?" and "what sucks?" Still, these are assessments made on the go and rarely are we allowed time enough to think carefully about the ideological facets of our work. I'll be honest, I find leftist self-critique at this point cliched, approaching hackneyed. Because we are hyperfocused on "what sucks," you'll have to forgive me for jumping at the chance to highlight things that don't. If this article has an overly saccharin tone, I hope it is tempered at least in comparison to a preponderance of the opposite.

I have two aims for this article: First, I hope to reflect on what I feel is the (almost) accidental anarchism of our space, and how it shows up in our organizing. Second, I hope to provide an overview of oppositional social movements currently active in Tokyo and with whom we regularly partner. To do so, I must first introduce NAMNAM Space. Founded in the summer of 2023, NAMNAM is a queer community art-space run on anarchist principles. Initially a team of three, NAMNAM has grown substantially and rapidly since its nascency. I myself joined in the fall of 2023, and the team now consists of eight organizers and a host of supporting volunteers. We operate a small gallery space on the west side of Tokyo in a neighborhood called Koenji where we host just about everything from exhibitions to karaoke nights.

Yes, "runs on anarchist principles" is in our signature, but when asked to touch on the role of anarchism in our work, my first instinct was to downplay aspects shaped by strict ideology, focusing instead on the anarchist "vibes" we bring to the space. Whenever something breaks, or we have to Macgyver a workaround, or we have to bend some rules, or we have to improvise on the fly, we throw up our hands and say "we're anarchists!" To this extent, our approach at NAMNAM is characterized by an anarchic attitude more so than traditional anarchist doctrine. However, my first instinct was stupid. Thinking about the prompt for more than two seconds, it occurred to me that, though anarchism is not explicitly at the forefront of every decision at NAMNAM, core tenets of anarchism thread their way through pretty much everything we do. Here's how:

**First**, we make decisions based on consensus. Decisions are made collectively and disagreement is met with discussion rather than majority rule. Consensus is a classic anarchist pitfall, often viewed as the most quixotic of our approaches. At NAMNAM, though, consensus seems to work (a fact that I am constantly baffled by). I'm sure my co-organizers would have different perspectives on why this works, and I'm sure that some of them would point out that not every decision lives up to this standard. Limitations of time, availability, and energy mean that not every decision is made with all parties present and not every decision is universally popular. I would like to formally apologize to Calum for getting rid of the microwave. When it comes to major decisions, however, like what events to host and what projects to prioritize, we move forward together.

**Second**, we aim to balance the precepts of restorative justice with our responsibility for community safety. In the fall of last year we codified our "second chance policy." The policy states that individuals who violate our ground rules are given a chance to demonstrate growth and change. One mistake is met with a clear explanation of wrongdoing, but not with immediate ostracization. However, if an individual makes a second infraction, they are no longer welcomed back to space. So far, we have been lucky. We have not yet had a need to enforce this policy as there has yet to be an incident that warranted intervention. This is by no means a perfect system. We have discussed at length the pros and cons of implementing lengthier and more targeted policies, or even making specific exceptions to the rule for special cases. Through these discussions, we've realized that, as each case is unique and requires specific sensitivity to meet specific needs, a more rigid policy would ultimately hinder our ability to make thoughtful judgement calls in the moment. Instead, we trust each other to approach situations in the space with respect and appropriate gravity.

**Third**, we hate the cops.

**Finally**, anarchism underpins the decisions we make regarding programming. We are extremely blessed to be approached consistently by a diverse range of individuals and organizations who bring to our space creative, thoughtful, and informative projects. Because we run a physical space, we play host to workshops, screenings, fundraisers, and meetings. Consequently, our space has become a nexus of different movements, some of whom have aims beyond our own, but whom we are happy to serve. To paraphrase Errico Malatesta, as anarchists, we recognize that power comes not from above in the imposition of ideology, but from below in the encouragement of popular movements, and it is this imperative that we most enthusiastically embrace. The monthly events at our space include: A film-screening of queer and alternative Indian films, a cafe fundraiser for families in Gaza, a bake-sale pop-up to help a community member save for their own store, and a black writers poetry open-mic night. We also support an ongoing campaign for the freedom of Chris Payne who has been wrongfully imprisoned in Tokyo. Additionally, each month local activists and visiting artists hold their own events at NAMNAM space. With each of these events, more and more people are connected to one another, exposed to new ideas, and increasingly committed to community. We see the fruits of this effort in the growing number of individuals volunteering their own time and resources to support local campaigns and larger movements.

This brings us to the broader subject of oppositional politics in Tokyo. There are undoubtedly scholars better equipped than I to elucidate the dynamics of leftist political activity in contemporary Japan, but I will do my best to provide an overview. Anarchism has deep roots in Japanese political history, but along with adjacent leftist movements experienced a sharp decline in the latter half of the 20th century. Radical oppositional social movements have begun reemerging slowly in the wake of the 3/11 earthquake and nuclear disaster, but nothing has yet reached heights comparable to the 1960s and early 70s. Reasons for this decline are myriad (and a site of ongoing study) but among them are factional

violence and the successful stigmatization of public demonstration by the government. As a result, contemporary social movements are quite siloed. NAMNAM space is thus uniquely positioned to link at least a handful of these oft isolated movements.

One of the most active and dynamic movements is the Palestine solidarity movement. Though activity increased dramatically in the wake of October 7th, 2023, the Palestine movement in Japan dates back to the 1960s. Today, the movement is diverse, multifaceted, and uniquely diffuse. There is no single organization at the center or the head of the movement, instead operating as an informal network of groups and individuals. Despite the lack of a formal division of labor, different groups have organically adopted a range of tactics including cultural events, fundraising, and direct action. Though protests in Tokyo have not reached the same numbers as cities in other countries – the largest turnout to date is approximately 2,000 people – I would argue it is comparably if not more consistent. Because censorship and police crackdown have been significantly less aggressive in comparison to other localities, the community in Tokyo has had relative freedom to host exhibitions, talk events, performances, workshops, and flea markets without pushback. That is not to say that there is **no** pushback. There have been arrests and students especially have faced the brunt of bureaucratic reprimand. Still, in Japan, the most menacing antagonists are ignorance and apathy.

The movement for LGBT rights, on the other hand, has been making slow but increasingly steady progress. Same-sex marriage remains illegal in Japan, though the ban has been ruled unconstitutional in a growing number of regional courts. Unfortunately, there have been some setbacks. Notably, our comrade and founding member of WAIFU (a queer, trans-inclusive rave) recently lost her court case for marriage equality. Elin, a trans woman married to another woman, was fighting for her marriage to be recognized by the courts as both gay and legitimate. Elin was barred from changing her legal gender on official documentation so long as her wife Midori was listed as "spouse." The government suggested changing Midori's status to "family member," so the couple went to court. Sadly, Elin and Midori lost their case earlier this year. Paths towards institutional change in Japan are slow, arduous, and at times impossible to traverse, especially for those without adequate resources. However, institutional change, as we know, is not the only measure of progress. Queer solidarity with Palestine has boosted the energy of both movements, and an increasing number of queer people have found a political home in pro-Palestine organizing. NAMNAM Space serves to foster this intersection.

More and more, our work has brought us into unhappy contact with the Japanese criminal justice system. Contrary to what one might imagine of the Kawaii Capital, Japanese carceral policies are inhumane and grossly underscrutinized. Average Japanese citizens are unlikely to have even minimal knowledge of incarceration practices, and what rights they don't have. When detained, an individual may be held without charge for up to 23 days with the possibility of extension. Protracted detention is the norm, including for immigrants seeking asylum. Organizations in Tokyo, including Migrante Japan, Kosaten, and No Detention Yes Life have been advocating tirelessly on behalf of detainees. As I mentioned above, our members are also involved in a campaign for the release of Chris Payne, a black man being held in solitary confinement for a crime he didn't commit. The conditions of detention are appalling and courts, cops, and guards are given generous latitude by the opaque system in which they operate.

Now what did all of that have to do with anarchism? As is the case around much of the world, Japan is experiencing a concerning rise in right-wing fascism. In the most recent election, a previously fringe far-right party Sanseito won a whopping fifteen seats in the Diet. The increasing presence, visibility, and sway of fascist ideology comes predictably on a wave of increasing immigration and economic downturn. The Japanese public, long considered apolitical or politically apathetic, are mobilizing around anti-immigrant rhetoric and promises to put "Japanese people first." Meanwhile, Israeli genocide in Palestine persists with impunity, children in Congo work in mines for Apple, communities in Sudan face annihilation, and the rich get richer while the planet suffers. In times like these – though how different "these times" are from "past times" is hard for me to say – I find myself thinking about the anarchists of old. The more militarized elements of the movement, the guerilla fighters who opposed Franco, the rice farmers who fought Mussolini, and countless others who picked up rocks or guns against repression. What we do every day feels paltry in comparison. We send DMs on instagram. We squabble over the text placement in a flyer. We screen campy movies to raise money for one cause or another. The micro-

tasks of the day-to-day are painfully inane, especially for a community whose ethos, language, and purported mission are steeped in a history of blood. How can we be anarchists?

I believe that, fundamentally, anarchism is just a name for the things we already do. We already care about each other's opinions, so we rule by consensus. We believe in redemptive power of community, so we adopt restorative justice practices in our space. We know we can't make a difference on our own, so we join up with other groups, organizations, movements, forming one drop in a slowly, far too slowly, filling bucket. We hate the cops. We see the injustices in the world and our hearts break, so we take a bite out of it. A small bite. In the ditch that's left we build a space for ourselves and invite others in. We commit. We don't back down from the covenant of community. Apparently, that makes us anarchists. NAMNAM space is what you get when you put people before ideology, and for that reason I know that the community we have built around the space is robust enough to withstand whatever comes.

## The state of anarchy

*River*

An important place to start is to say that our collective doesn't have a monopoly on anarchy in the Bournemouth area and that writing anything about the state of movements where autonomy is such a key feature is always going to be vulnerable to missing out things that others are doing but we can only write from our personal perspectives of what we know is happening, and always with the hope that we will find others locally with similar values and in the hope of connecting with others who are either already doing the work or looking for their people to start.

A common feature of how a lot of us in Bournemouth seem to have been drawn together is from finding widely advertised activist entrypoints - ranging from environmental groups, problematic vanguard groups, Palestine solidarity groups, as examples – and becoming burnt out or disillusioned when realising the power dynamics and rigid hierarchies had no space for people to engage autonomously and authentically. When faced with this, often it feels like being told that the only choice is between continuing to follow someone else's orders or dropping out and doing nothing, but instead many of us individually broke away to start the things that we wanted to see, even if that meant starting alone or in very small groups.

The landscape of anarchy in Bournemouth feels like it's shifted quite a lot over the last couple of years. The most known anarchist-encompassing event was the annual Dorset Radical Bookfair, which has been a useful space for networking with other interested folks and forged connections that have led to more sustained and consistent ongoing organising. Much of what has sprung up has been in response to local issues and things that didn't exist that we wanted to see, starting with a radical, ethical and non-hierarchical Community Pride which runs each year on the same day

as our local corporate Pride, as well as projects that we tried out and ran consistently to get a feel for, like the fortnightly Revolutionary Reading Room and monthly prisoner solidarity writing group A Community Against Cages And Bars. Both these meetings are on a break until we have the capacity and desire to pick them back up, or someone else wants to bring them back, but they were ideas that we saw happening in other towns that we thought "we could try that", and it was really valuable for meeting new people and for learning together, even if ultimately we decided our energy was better spent elsewhere.

Our collective's main focus right now is our weekly Free Shop that runs every Friday, which in many ways feels different to the reading and writing groups before, because having something that brings so many more people together, that is out on the street, has so much more reach and has a constantly growing and shifting energy. Creating meetings that were so based in already having an interest in or understanding of theory or wanting to put that into practice largely felt like an uphill struggle to gain or maintain any momentum in our area because we didn't have the foundations really to start there, whereas being a consistent presence on our local streets has completely shifted that to bringing anarchist ideas to people who may have no prior interest in it, or may even feel negatively about it (often until having conversations or seeing it working in action). It's made anarchy far more visible and talked about in our local area, especially in Boscombe where we run the Free Shop. You see more anarchist stickers in the wild. We've gone from some of our neighbours being sceptical or annoyed about seeing anarchist flags as part of the Free Shop, to asking questions, to even being part of it.

We've had messages from folks who used to live in Bournemouth who get in touch to say that they're surprised to see more radical things happening here, and I think we're starting from a place of needing to build the basic foundations, but the beauty of that is everything is on a person-by-person level and the radical joy of getting to know new friends and comrades. The Free Shop has taught us a lot about mutual aid on a community level, but part of the anarchy that's happening here is behind the scenes, it's in the quiet relationships that maintain being able to do anything outward-facing – it's present in every individual relationship being made, it's in people taking time to unlearn propaganda together, it's people offering each other lifts or meals or to clean up or walk a dog or opening their home to each other when things are tough or just because we have no public community spaces here to use and we desperately need to take space and time together to build connections.

Being able to get a physical space to operate from would bring together different projects and parts of the community in a way that would make us all far stronger, which is probably why it's proving to be a hurdle that we currently haven't found a way to overcome but it's always something we're wanting to build towards. Groups around us following a more conventional path but with some radical leanings have said how much they like that we've just got out on the street and are doing what we want to do even without access to indoor space. By doing it in the most DIY way possible, without permission, without support, even when it brings us into conflict with anyone wanting to exert authority, it emboldens others to see they could do it and try new things too – it's far easier to know how to copy some folks getting out on the street than it is to know the bureaucracy of trying to get funding, getting a space, etc. The Free Shop will almost certainly be a thorn in the side of those instigating the very clear gentrification efforts around Boscombe at the moment because it's on the street, it can be messy, chaotic, it brings together big groups of people, and because it encourages other people to use the street as a shared space to spend time rather than just going from transaction to transaction. It is a worrying force for anyone who wants to control the space, including police, security guards, the council, and owners of the buildings. You can tell that you're doing something worthwhile when you're constantly coming into conflict with these forces but you have the support of the people in your community.

The folks we know who are consistently living anarchy here are queer, trans, disabled, neurodivergent folks, migrants; people who get targeted by the far right, people who are tokenised in activist spaces not built by those communities, and so it means that our anarchy is intersectional. In our actions we're fighting for every kind of liberation, including the ones that we've seen forgotten or ignored in other spaces (like animal liberation), and hope that by doing that Total Liberation will become the norm in anarchist spaces so no one feels unwelcome or like their liberation struggle is being sidelined. Because we're from marginalised communities, we get involved in organising for those movements locally, especially if there are grassroots groups springing up like Crips Against Cuts or Trans Liberation, and bringing what we want to see to those movements by maintaining our anarchist autonomy, radical values, and making clear that we are engaging

both as anarchists and individuals from those communities – that we aren't separate from them and dealing solely in 'solidarity' but that we are also directly affected. The dynamic of that is obviously really different than organisations and political parties using grassroots organising to promote and recruit. I often think of meeting folks for the first time at broader protests, and quietly warning them about the Socialist Worker's Party's history and continued patterns of behaviour when the clipboard gets passed around, seeing them cross out their details from the mailing list, and them thanking me and saying they definitely would have ended up at their meetings otherwise. I find it strange to imagine an alternative branching reality where such friends end up pouring their energy into selling newspapers and finding their own replacement for when they inevitably burn out (as was my past path), instead of the fortunate reality where we have genuine affinity and we materially influence each other's lives in a positive and consistent way.

The state of anarchy here is wanting for everyone to know that reciprocal, horizontal relationships do exist because the landscape here is that you are really likely to encounter political parties or liberal activist organisations as your first experience of activism or community, but you don't need to settle for top-down structures, constant compromises with capitalism, or the soulless grind of waiting for some leader to engineer whatever kind of revolution they think you need... You can start living in a revolutionary way now by finding people you genuinely care about and who you have shared values with. Look after each other, and build the capacity for that sphere of care to extend outwards to more groups like yours until we're all connected. If you're around Bournemouth, part of that might be connecting with us if you want to. If not, build something, people will find you. Everywhere we need as many different radical things as possible and to support each other, and we're excited to see where things in Bournemouth go next.

Bournemouth is facing massive challenges and crises because of fascist anti-migrant organising, but already being part of radical community makes that feel less frightening than it otherwise would, and anarchy is already a big part of combatting the far right narrative because our neighbours know us already, they've had almost a year of us being out on the street with anarchist flags showing up with free food and books and clothes for everyone so it's harder for the far right to have a hold on the area we operate in, and also more generally for them to be talking about 'antifa' in the scaremongering way that they like to because we've always proudly claimed that label in the work that we're doing. It feels like quite a scary time right now – to quell what's happening with the far right, it's going to need consistent and brave work within our communities, speaking out against fascists instead of hiding or staying silent, and choosing actions that may feel more risky in the short-term for all of our collective safety in the long-term. If you can, get out of the house and onto the streets, the power of being with your community is healing. We all get to shape the state of anarchy that's happening around us but none of us can do this alone.

If you want to start out by connecting with local groups online:
(Instagram)
@bournemouthanarchists
@bournemouthantifascists
@bournemouth.community.pride
@bournemouth_crips_against_cuts
@trans_liberation_bmth
Dorset Radical Bookfair

But if you can, come see people in person any Friday afternoon, on the street next to or opposite the Costa on Boscombe highstreet, 2.30 til at least 5.

# The search for an Anti-Metropolis in Belo-Hotizonte - Brazil

*Gabriel Rios*

**The emergence of Belo-Horizonte**

At the end of the 19th century, Belo Horizonte emerged as Brazil's first planned city, a reflection of significant events in the second half of the nineteenth century in the territory known as Brazil and the world. On a national level, Belo Horizonte appeared just a few years after the Proclamation of the Republic (1889) and the abolition of slavery (1888). On a global scale, the city was created following Haussmann's renovations in Paris (1870), which were fundamental to subsequent urban planning thought, as well as two other capitals crucial to Belo Horizonte's urban planning: Washington D.C. (United States) and La Plata (Argentina).

In view of this, Belo Horizonte emerged politically as a symbol of a "new era", a new spatiality, and a new capital city in the state of Minas Gerais to consolidate the emerging Republic, giving material sense to the idea of a break with the old political regime of the state and the country. Thus, the capital of Minas Gerais was created with the ideal of being a metropolis, not only for Minas Gerais but for the Republic. The city's project was conceived to inscribe it within the modern world, thereby presenting itself as a space for the constitution of a "new sociability".

In view of this, within a short period of four years (1893-1897), the new capital of Minas Gerais was inaugurated on the 13th of December 1897, based on a "hierarchical architecture" designed to accommodate "bodies" and subordinate them to mechanisms of social control, promoting, in this context, discipline and order within its urban fabric. The former residents of the arraial (mining village) were expelled to an area on the margins of the Arrudas Creek.

**A flicker of life in the Metropolis of Hygiene**

For over 20 years, three houses situated at the corner of Avenida Bias Fortes and Rua Guajajaras in central Belo Horizonte stood abandoned. Designed and built in 1938, the properties, which feature Art Deco characteristics on their façades, suffered considerable damage from the passage of time and neglect. In 2013, an anticapitalist, autonomous, and horizontal collective comprised of workers, the unemployed, and students occupied the houses with the intention of renovating them and bringing them to life through self-management via the "Kasa Invisível" collective.
The Kasa Invisível is an occupation that emerged in 2013, shortly before the fateful June 2013 protests, which, according to the Free Fare Movement (Movimento Passe Livre - MPL) itself, was the largest insurrection in modern Brazil:

> *"The city is used as a weapon for its own retaking: knowing that blocking a mere crossroads compromises all circulation, the population turns the chaotic transport system of the metropolises against itself [...] it is thus, in the direct action of the population over its own life – and not behind closed doors, in municipal councils ingeniously instructed by city halls or in any other institutional manoeuvre – that true popular management takes place. This is precisely what happened in São Paulo when, in June 2013, the people, taking to the streets, took upon themselves the management of the city's fare policy and revoked the Mayor's decree that had increased the fare by twenty centavos" (apud Arantes, 2014, p.395).*

The occupation began in March of that year after one of the collective's members passed by the location of the house and found it open. It was initially a very unpretentious act, even though for a long time we had been very attentive to the city's abandoned spaces. However, the Kasa only took shape after the conjunctures of June 2013, where the first members of the collective came from libertarian and anarchist encounters amidst the 2013 insurrection.

Although the space and the collective are now called Kasa Invisível, initially the occupation was named "Comuna Invisível" (Invisible Commune). The collective was influenced in its foundation by readings of texts from the Comité Invisible (Invisible Committee). Besides this analogy to the ideas and the very name of the French collective, the name given to the occupation was also linked to the initial process of occupying the houses. Remaining "conspiratorially" invisible was a better strategy for that

context than using the tactic usually put into practice by other occupation movements, which expose the occupation by hanging banners and calling for supporters. This strategy allowed the collective to build a relationship, gradually, with the neighbouring surroundings, who became accustomed to people entering and leaving the location without, initially, having events open to the public.

Beyond these security concerns, this period during which the occupation remained closed was due to the condition of the properties. The properties had been abandoned for over 20 years and were in a completely degraded state, which led the collective to undertake "painstaking work" for 3 years, holding restoration mutirões (collective efforts) to make the properties habitable again. Thus, the collective opened the space to the public for the first time in November 2016, with the "Feira Okupa Skina" (Occupy Corner Fair), an event that featured local producers, dance workshops, discussion circles, poetry readings, and the presence of the neighbourhood amidst it all.

After this initial phase that the occupation experienced, other people began to inhabit the space, which almost completely changed the composition of the collective. In this phase following a "conspiratorially" invisible occupation, people began to call the occupation Kasa Invisível, which is fairer and perhaps less pretentious than Comuna Invisível.

Thus, the Kasa Invisível emerged from the need for housing and the desire to occupy and restore a set of abandoned properties to make them habitable again, and most importantly, full of life. Open to the entire community, the life of the occupation is maintained by the collectivity that surrounds it and intervenes in the space, as it is a territory configured as a meeting point for diverse movements of resistance and with open cultural activities. A true catalyst for struggles and libertarian experiences in the city of Belo Horizonte.

Today, the occupation's physical structures include an open community library, a screen-printing workshop housing the infoshop and cooperative "1000Contra", and the social centre itself. This cooperative, according to the collective (Kasa Invisível, 2024), promotes the sustenance of residents and other people in the community. Furthermore, the Kasa Invisível hosts various activities, always open to the public, such as: "Cineclube da Kasa Invisível" (Kasa Invisível Film Club), which screens films with prior curation and debates after the screening; "Grupo de Estudos Libertários" (Libertarian Study Group), which studies texts from the autonomist, anarchist, and unorthodox Marxist traditions; "Grupo de Estudos da Biblioteca Invisível" (Invisible Library Study Group), which studies texts on varied themes; "Feira Okupa Esquina" (Occupy Corner Street Fair), a street fair held on the Kasa's corner; the "Jornal de Poste Fogo e Grude" (Fire and Glue Lamppost Journal), a newspaper in wheat-paste poster (lambe) format that is spread across the streets; and the Papo de Okupa (Occupy Chat) podcast. The Kasa is also an open space to host projects and events conceived by other collectives and people. These exchanges are important for keeping the space open to the interests and demands of the community.

The occupation, as mentioned previously, is managed by an anticapitalist, autonomous, and horizontal collective composed of workers, students, and the unemployed. Furthermore, some members have been involved in mobilisations for the right to the city, in cultural activism, and in the reclaiming of public spaces in the municipality, while others have participated in other occupations on the periphery of Belo Horizonte and in other cities.

As a heterogeneous group, the Kasa Invisível Collective identifies itself as follows: We are anticapitalist and anti-state, we seek autonomy and self-management, for this we always start from direct action and a mode of organisation that is plural, non-partisan (with anti-party tendencies) and horizontal, aiming for consensus. We consider ourselves part of the global anticapitalist and anti-authoritarian struggle, locating ourselves within a tradition that came long before and will continue long after us. Therefore, the very concept of 'us' is broadened, together with all people who resist. Thus, what guides the collective practices of this group are its principles, which are: anticapitalism and anti-statism; direct action; autonomy and self-management; non-partisanship (with anti-party tendencies); mutual aid; horizontality and ecology.

**A space of Anarchist tradition**

The Kasa Invisível emerged with a strong influence from the city's counter-cultural spaces of the late 1990s and 2000s, such as Mansão Libertina, Carnaval Revolução, and the movements of the PGA (People's Global Action). These moments were experienced by members of the collective towards the end of their adolescence. The organisation of S-26 and the

very existence of collectives, groups, young libertarian activists and punks who heeded the PGA's calls for organising actions can be understood as landmarks of Belo Horizonte's entry into the global contestatory "wave".

Furthermore, some members of the collective were intimately connected to the organisation of the city's contestatory movements in the 2000s, such as Carnaval Revolução, Gato Negro, Domingo Nove e Meia under the Santa Tereza Viaduct, Loja Grátis, and Espaço Ystilingue.

In this way, the Kasa Invisível is part of a particular history. It reassembles a tradition and remembers the past, denying the forgetting of insurgencies, so that an entire history of struggles is not erased. "It is this perspective that allows dispersed elements to be recognised as an insurrectionary tradition" (Conjunto Vazio, 2015). Thus, the Kasa Invisível is the maintenance of this insurrectionary tradition, of a libertarian, counter-cultural, and anarchic nature in Belo Horizonte. The Kasa Invisível, in this sense, keeps the tradition and these subterranean histories of movements from Belo Horizonte, and the world, alive by remembering the past and brushing history against the grain.

From this, it is possible to affirm that the Kasa Invisível occupation constitutes itself as a catalyst for struggles and libertarian experiences in the city of Belo Horizonte, which maintains the traditions that inspired the creation of this insurgent territory—a counter-cultural, anarchic, and libertarian tradition. A territory that can be seen as a prefiguration of a society to come, one that organises itself autonomously and non-hierarchically through direct action and mutual aid. Thus, seeking a form of life organisation that is not mediated by the state, nor by representatives, but by the possibility of making decisions about one's own life, and consequently about one's own body, where the various aspects that form the totality of daily life can break free from the mediation of money, the work-form, and state apparatuses.

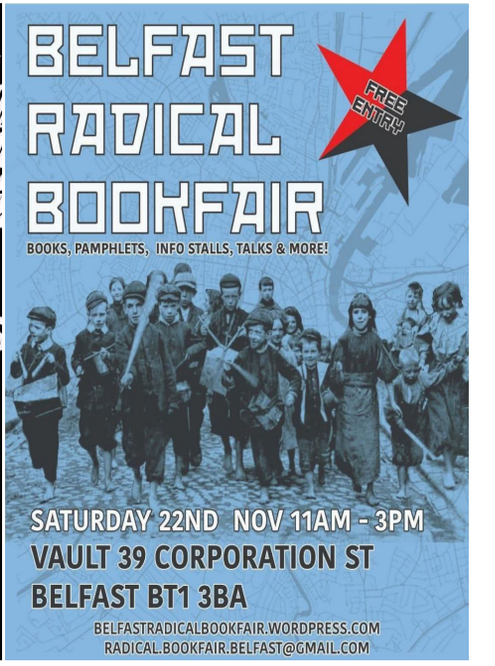
**For an Anti-Metropolis**

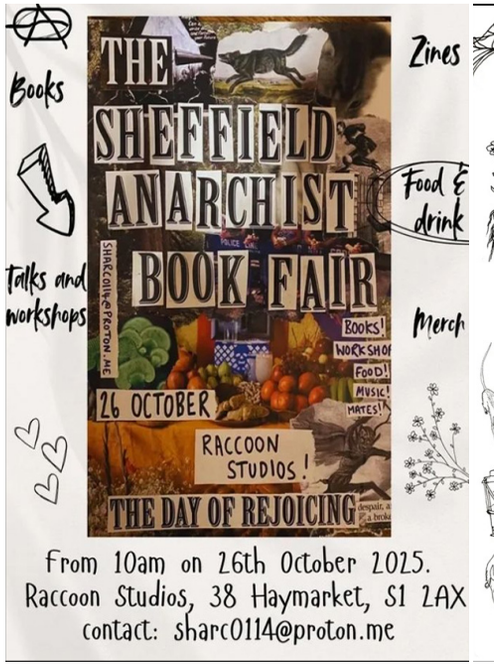
For it to be possible to invent another life from within the city – from what its inhabitants experience, need, and imagine – it is necessary to inhabit it, to make it a truly shared space, a territory for pleasurable imagination. However, this will not happen through the old techniques of urban "requalification". The only path to such a horizon of creative life is, first, through the destruction of what the metropolis is and, second, through a creative, pleasurable, and common impulse. Therefore, beyond the activities carried out within the territory of the Kasa Invisível, the collective has an extensive history of actions in the city of Belo Horizonte. Through these actions, the collective seeks to blend dimensions easily identifiable in the aforementioned traditions, such as the interweaving of party and protest, culture and politics through the occupation of urban public spaces, experiencing the city without permits and licences from the city council.

To appropriate a territory of the city is to make that territory a meeting point to discuss our problems, desires, and collective objectives. To occupy the city, create spaces for gathering, discussion about life, about the problems of your neighbourhood, region, to practice politics directly, without mediation! Promote spaces for the gift economy, create community bazaars in your area so that everyone can leave what no longer serves them and others can take what will serve them.

For the collective, life can exist beyond the commodity, but first it is necessary to occupy the city, destroy its way of life to then be guided by a creative, pleasurable, and common impulse. The party of the revolution will be with the lights of buses ablaze and the sounds of banks being burned by molotovs towards a horizon of autonomy of life and pleasure.

# To The Revolution Now.



**Peter O'Maille**
**StuFA**
**Simoun Magsalin**
**Hana B**
**River**
**Gabriel Rios**

Pulse Check
Have you heard of Anarchism in Korea?
Developments in the Libertarian Left in the Philippines
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PAY WHAT YOU FEEL

**ORGANISE**